

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----132057Z 110258 /63
P R 131848Z MAY 77
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3281
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 3744

EXDIS/SALT

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MAY 13,
1977 (SALT TWO - 1173)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MAY 13, 1977.

BEGIN TEXT:

I

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS
OF THE USSR AND THE U.S., PUBLISHED IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF
APRIL 26, 1977, THE DELEGATIONS ARE RESUMING THEIR WORK OF
PREPARING THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. IN THIS REGARD, IT IS ENVISAGED TO
CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF AND REACHING AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS
WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN CONSIDERED AT THE LEVEL OF DELEGATIONS,
BUT WERE NOT FINALLY AGREED.

SUCH PRECISELY ARE THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE USSR DELEGATION.

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AS FOR THE QUESTIONS WHICH ARE THE SUBJECT OF CONSIDERATION
AT OTHER LEVELS, THE SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT ALONG WITH
RESUMPTION OF THE WORK OF THE DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA, THE
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON SUCH QUESTIONS WILL BE CONTINUED.

THE SOVIET UNION'S APPROACH OF PRINCIPLE TO QUESTIONS OF WORKING
OUT THE NEW AGREEMENT IS SET FORTH, IN PARTICULAR, IN THE

SPEECH OF GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU L. I. BREZHNEV, OF JANUARY 18, 1977 IN TULA. "WE ARE PARPARED," L. I. BREZHNEV STRESSED, "JOINTLY WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE ANOTHER MAJOR MOVE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE CONVINCED, IT IS NECESSARY IN THE NEAREST FUTURE TO COMPLETE THE WORK OF PREPARING THE AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS ON THE BASIS AGREED UPON AS FAR BACK AS THE END OF 1974 IN VLADIVOSTOK... THE SOVIET UNION, OF COURSE, IS READY TO GO EVEN FURTHER IN QUESTIONS OF LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. AT FIRST, HOWEVER, IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSOLIDATE THAT WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED, TO IMPLEMENT WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED UPON IN VLADIVOSTOK; ALL THE MORE SO, SINCE THE TERM OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT EXPIRES IN OCTOBER OF THIS YEAR. IT WOULD THEN BE POSSIBLE IMMEDIATELY TO PROCEED TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MORE FAR-REACHING MEASURES. OTHERWISE WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN WOULD BE THAT, BY ADDING NEW QUESTIONS TO THOSE CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION, WE WOULD EVEN FURTHER COMPLICATE AND DELAY RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM AS A WHOLE."

THUS, IN CONTINUING TO WORK ON THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IT IS NECESSARY TO PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT MUST BE BASED ON THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. AND ON THE RESULTS OF SUBSEQUENT SOVIET-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ENSURING FROM THAT UNDERSTANDING.

OF COURSE, TO ACHIEVE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS, IT IS NECESSARY CONSISTENTLY TO OBSERVE THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF
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EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS WILL BE CONDUCTED IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3282

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 3744

EXDIS/SALT

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

IN THE COURSE OF THE WORK OF THE DELEGATIONS ON THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL ON NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO THIRD COUNTRIES. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY CITED EXTENSIVE AND CONVINCING RATIONALE IN SUBSTANTIATION OF THIS PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET UNION.

THE CONTENT OF THIS PROPOSAL IS WELL KNOWN TO THE U.S. SIDE. IN ESSENCE IT PROVIDES FOR EACH SIDE, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, TO ASSUME THE OBLIGATION NOT TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES, AND NOT TO ASSIST IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT, IN PARTICULAR, BY TRANSFERRING COMPONENTS, TECHNICAL DESCRIPTIONS OR BLUEPRINTS FOR THESE ARMS.

THE SOVIET SIDE ATTACHES AN IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLE TO THIS PROVISION AND DOES NOT CONCEIVE OF A NEW AGREEMENT WITHOUT MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS ON THIS SCORE.

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THE NON-TRANSFER PROVISION, BEING AIMED AT STRENGTHENING STRATEGIC STABILITY, WOULD SERVE AS A GUARANTEE FOR ENSURING ACHIEVEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT --TO PROMOTE FURTHER CURBING OF THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, HAVING IN MID ALSO SUBSEQUENTLY TO PROCEED ON THIS BASIS TO MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS, STRICTLY OBSERVING THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

FOR THE SIDES TO ASSUME A NON-TRANSFER OBLIGATION UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT WOULD BE IN LINE WITH THE TASK OF PREVENTING FURTHER PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE SOVIET UNION IS RESOLUTELY IN FAVOR OF FURTHERING TO THE UTMOST A STRENGTHENING OF THE REGIME OF NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THE U.S. ALSO PROCLAIMS THIS GOAL. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR STATES TO THE EFFECT THAT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WILL NOT BE TRANSFERRED TO THIRD COUNTRIES WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM, AND WOULD RESULT IN FURTHER REDUCING THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR.

THE NEED TO INCLUDE A NON-TRANSFER OBLIGATION IN THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ENSUES FROM THE TASK OF ENSURING THE EFFECTIVENESS AND VIABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT, AND INCREASING THE MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. IN SUCH A VITALLY IMPORTANT AREA AS LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE OBLIGATION NOT TO TRANSFER STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO OTHER STATES IS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT. SHOULD A CHANNEL FOR A FURTHER BUILDUP IN THESE ARMS, SUCH AS THE POSSIBILITY OF TRANSFERRING THEM TO OTHER STATES, BE LEFT UNLOCKED, THAT WOULD IN SUBSTANCE LEAD TO RENDERING WORTHLESS OTHER MEASURES PROVIDED FOR UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, AND TO UNDERMINING THE AGREEMENT AS A WHOLE.

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THUS, A MUTUAL NON-TRANSFER OBLIGATION, EGUAL FOR BOTH SIDES, WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S., AND IN THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

THE ENTIRE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD SHOWS THAT THERE IS NO REASON TO POSTPPONE RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF INCLUDING A NON-TRANSFER PROVISION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. ATTEMPTS TO EVADE RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION, TO CONDITION IT ON ANY OTHER ASPECTS COULD ONLY GIVE RISE TO DOUBTS AS TO THE CLARITY OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE SIDE THAT WOULD CHOOSE SUCH A COURSE.

WE PROPOSE THAT THE DELEGATIONS PROCEED WITHOUT DELAY TO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF A NON-TRANSFER PROVISION FOR INCLUSION IN THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

END TEXT.WARNKE

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